5: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1973
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23
Mountain Orokaiva

Orokaiva Coffee-Grower Society, a producers' co-operative formed for the purpose.

The Council is made up of twenty-six Orokaiva members who are paid a monthly stipend. However, in practice a government adviser attached to the Council appears to determine policy. Indigenous attitudes to the Council are analysed in detail in Schwimmer 1967. Together with the Coffee Society, it has offered the Orokaiva some political participation and the importance of this new departure is vividly recognised by the people.

The New Age. Since the Second World War, a great many ideas from the outside world have been communicated to the Orokaiva. I have already mentioned economic, and some political ideas; in addition, the Anglican mission began to attract many converts, especially after the Mount Lamington disaster. By 1964, the great majority of Orokaiva were baptised.

The establishment of the House of Assembly in Port Moresby, giving limited powers of political decision to Papuan representatives elected by universal suffrage, has introduced new patterns in village life: meetings with the local member, with other candidates, and with organisers acting for these candidates and presenting political argument. The personnel of the local government council tends to be deeply committed in national politics and to talk about political affairs when visiting villages.

During such discussions, the Orokaiva are beginning to learn that an end to Australian rule is conceivable and that they will have some voice in decisions relating to the independence of their own country. They fully recognise that this makes an immediate difference to the balance of power between themselves and

TABLE II/10

EDUCATION AND OCCUPATIONAL EXPERIENCE OF THE JEGASE AND SEHO CLANS OF SIVEPE COMPARED – ADULT MALES ONLY

Approximate Period	*Education*		*Occupational Experience*	
	Seho	*Jegase*	*Seho*	*Jegase*
Nil	6	6	4	5
1 year	–	1	1	2
2 years	–	2	1	–
3 years	–	1	–	–
4 years	–	2	–	2
5 years	–	–	–	1
6 years	–	1	–	–
7 years			–	–
8 years			–	–
Over 8 years			–	4
Data vague	2	1	2	–
Total	8	14	8	14

development of each of the small local co-operatives. These were all organized along similar lines but the following description applies specifically to the Gombe Co-operative which (to distinguish it from Samuel Ungega's venture) was renamed the Yega Co-operative.

The executive committee of the co-operative consisted of five members: a chairman who was a well-known elder and later became the acknowledged leader of the Yega, a secretary who was a younger man of some education and in good standing with the mission authorities, and three young and energetic members, two of them ex-servicemen who had had some post-war agricultural training at Dogura. This committee was elected by a general meeting of Yega people. Its function was to decide which land to use, when to change areas of cultivation and when to work: co-operative work days were Tuesdays and Saturdays when all people (even school children on Saturdays) were supposed to work on the co-operative gardens. At certain times, such as harvesting, extra work was necessary. The committee made the decision when to call for such extra efforts. In addition, the committee appointed people to other set duties and supervised the performance of these duties. Such positions were:

i. jobmaster, who allocated work;

ii. farm leaders, who kept farm records,[1] supervised sowing, harvesting and other technical aspects - these men had all had some agricultural training;

iii. huller operator. A rice huller was acquired and installed at the western end of Beporo village;

iv. toolkeepers and timekeepers. They kept tools in good repair, and rang the bell at 8 a.m. for staring work, at mid-day for prayers and at 5 p.m. for knocking off and prayers. Although people then lived in villages stretching along about three miles of coastline, and the only bell was in Beporo village, it was stated that in the early days of co-operative work most people were punctual; after the first year there was a gradual slackening in enthusiasm.

The secretary kept a roll book in which the names of all workers were entered. Each work day he walked round the gardens and ticked off the names of those present. There was no attempt to discriminate between hard workers and slackers. The person who worked for one hour received the same credit for attendance as one who

[1] Unfortunately no written records of the co-operative were located.

434 home in the villages. By doing this, they are
431 bringing about changes in the established
167 rules of leadership in village life. Under tradi-
554 tional custom, improvement in status was associated with the ceremonial distribution of goods: the recipients were placed under obligation to repay in similar kind at some future date, or else lose status. Among the Yega, the older recipients of gifts in cash or manufactured goods find it impossible to repay such gifts. As a result there has been an increase in the prestige of young or middle-aged, educated men. An instance of this trend was the
(666) almost unanimous election, in 1964, of such
(659) a person, recently returned from paid employment, as the Yega's first councillor on the Oro Bay Local Government Council.

(P.19-B)

875 Australia, enough of contemporary thought in literature, art and allied
659 subjects and enough general sophistication to fit only with difficulty in the society of missionaries, planters and officials. At the same time he was drawn to these groups because of his feeling that by coming to New Guinea he had joined the "have's" and left the "have-nots" behind. Though his bohemian background made him critical towards the colonial attitude to Papuans, he faced a difficult problem in working out his own. Both his own ambition and his wife's background (closer to the mission norm) predisposed him to avoid identification with the Papuans. On the other hand, when I met him, he still felt a little uneasy at playing the pukka sahib role which was certainly a betrayal of earlier principles. He was beginning to run into some difficulties with Papuans on the mission station and in the villages. During the year of our presence in Sivepe, he found what seemed an excellent solution by being elected a member of the Higaturu Local Government Council.

649 Though membership is open to persons of any ethnic group, it
● 666 seemed at first as though Orokaiva would not vote for an Australian candidate. After all, they are well aware of the dangers of having their local affairs controlled by foreigners. But as the election
[123] approached, attitudes changed. Quite early, they had asked me to stand, but I excused myself as I would not be staying long enough. A little later, the mission teacher heard that if he offered himself, he would get some support. He went to the villages of his ward on an electioneering tour and defeated the sitting member with a comfortable majority.
[829] The motive of the electors, as I was told, was that this energetic young white man would be a good champion for Sasembata causes in a council which, in pragmatic terms, was still largely dominated by an Australian advisor. Furthermore, Orokaiva were well aware that their own power over the mission teacher had increased considerably since he depended on them for elective office. He and his wife could no longer treat any callers in an offhand fashion, for were they not also voters?

Section 2: Papuans from Other Districts

177 In our discussion of expatriates, we have shown that some kind of identification with Papuan values occurred in many of the most influential; this identification could either be positive, when the expatriate identified himself with the interests of the Orokaiva, or negative, when the expatriate used procedures not acceptable in his country of origin but effective in furthering his own interests in opposition to Orokaiva. For the Papuans, employed as pastors or in similar roles, and therefore resident among a strange tribe, the position was more complicated. Such a Papuan was not principally a mediator between his own indigenous culture and that of his new

665 out of acculturation, such conflict falls outside the charter of the corporation, so that I think one may still speak of a Christian and a pagan faction, even though the membership of these factions happens, for the time being, to coincide with the membership of lineages. Another problem is whether factions can exist only where there is leadership. One of the interests expressed in Dr. Barnett's list of variables is in "latent factions"--and these may exist where one side (or perhaps even both sides) have no leader. Thus, I think one can speak of factions in Inonda, even though the pagan faction had no leader; this deficiency did, however, stop factionalism in that village from becoming more manifest. Nonetheless, even though the pagans had no leadership comparable to that of the ruling family, they had their own informal ranking system and were able to formulate common opposition, e.g., against the women's club. This informal leader was an elderly woman who terrified my wife but whom I later found to be an intelligent informant. Even in Inonda, factionalism did not go nearly as deep as among the modern Maori: the feast at Inonda rallied all the families and the factions became submerged, in a cause with which everyone agreed.

Perhaps, the main reason why Orokaiva conflict groups do not qualify as "factions" by Nicholas' definition is that they are not structurally diverse. I mean by this that conflict groups tend to rally on one particular issue, but that on any other issue the personnel are bound to be different. An interesting example is furnished by the elections for the Local Government Council. A respectable Sivepe man entered as candidate and collected six votes. These were from his own extended family who felt bound to vote for him. The others did not support him on that occasion, but on another occasion, when he attempted to rape the wife of a clansman when drunk, he had a great number of supporters and the family who had almost suffered this grievous misfortune had hardly any supporters at all.

[623]
[666]